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ASSESSED TAXES.

Bolt-court, Oct. 23, 1833.

Of all mankind I am the most cruelly treated. If I find fault with the Ministers, I am represented as factious, and charged with a wish to overturn "social order" and our "holy religion." If I use my feeble efforts in defence of them, I am represented as *crafty*, as a "*cunning*" fellow, and, indeed, as resembling the devil himself. In such a state of things, what is a man to do? I sometimes think that I will get out of this trouble in one way or another. I cannot say that I ever seriously thought of rope or rat-bane; but, really, this is a life which I cannot lead much longer. I am not prone to the plaintive style, nor given to the melancholy mood; but these complaints have been wrung from me by the cruelty of my implacable persecutor, the editor of the *Chronicle*, against whom I have been advised to swear the peace, or, they say, nothing can be clearer than that he has a design upon my life, which he has unhesitatingly declared to be very near to its close.

The subject of my present complaint, which I am about to lay before my compassionate readers, is an article which was published on the 19th of this month, containing the most cruel animadversions upon my conduct, relative to the assessed taxes, in which article he compares me to his majesty, the king of hell! And, indeed, represents me as importing *Ministers* to put in execution his infernal decrees. This is "too bad," and a stern-path-of-duty man wrote on the

back of a noble lord's application to get a swag at the public money for life; but, let us have the article itself; and then, I am sure, my readers will rally round me, and save me from the fangs of this merciless Jew, who visibly intends to crucify me, if he can get me into his clutches, as his blaspheming brethren did the children at LINCOLN and NORWICH, in the reign of King EDWARD the First. When I have inserted the article, I shall defend myself as well as I can.

THE PRESS AND THE ASSESSED TAXES.

—Our contemporary (the *Globe*) thought that we attached too much importance to the nonsensical attempts of certain persons in the metropolis to resist the payment of assessed taxes. Another contemporary (the *Times*), whose opinion will naturally have the more weight with the undecided, as the best cause with him is generally supposed to be that which is best supported, has, after long deliberation, and anxious inquiry, no doubt, at last proclaimed the cause of the tax resisters victorious. "The opinion of their partiality," says our contemporary, "is so deeply rooted, and the hardship of their exaction is so severely felt by the middle classes and the retail interest in towns, and particularly in the metropolis, that their collection cannot be any longer enforced (so as to render them as productive as formerly), without bringing the Government into a dangerous collision with the people—without incurring the charge of fiscal persecution—and perhaps encountering the risk of civil disturbance." After some observations on the injustice and impolicy of the taxes in question, in the justice of which we fully concur, our contemporary proceeds to show, that the spread of the associations and the example of Ireland ought to satisfy us that there are no means of enforcing the collection of the tax; and, moreover, that there is not a little danger

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that the people may, emboldened by success, attempt to rid themselves by similar means of other taxes. But we will allow our contemporary to speak for himself:—

“Certainly it is a fatal vice in the assessed taxes, to which we are advertising—that when they become so unpopular as the latter are at present, they cannot be levied with success. The public must have observed the spread of the associations for a passive resistance to the house duty in the metropolis; and they know the result of such a resistance to tithes in Ireland. They have seen numbers of brokers coming forward to declare that they would not sell goods distrained for these duties; and, upon proper explanation, it would probably be difficult to find purchasers, where the purchaser would be sure to be denounced by the by-standers as a robber in league with the tax-gatherer. We therefore regard the assessed taxes imposed upon houses and windows as already repealed. We are convinced that Lord Althorp will redeem his conditional, though tardy and reluctant pledge; and we venture to hope that there will no longer be occasion or excuse for the continuance or the spread of these anti-tax associations, which, though now aiming at the attainment of a defensible object by legal means, may, if perpetuated and extended, in the same spirit of hostility to the existing ways and means of the Treasury, embrace the abolition of other taxes as well as those which are now the subject of complaint.”

It is always bad policy to practise too much on the natural reluctance of a people like the English—patient to a fault, and very much the slaves of custom—to attempt resistance to the law. However much, therefore, we may blame the course on which the people have entered, we cannot acquit those who, by continuing this tax beyond the period during which obedience to the law could be safely calculated on, have brought us into our present predicament.

The devil, we are told in Scripture, is always going about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. Cobbett is cunning enough to see that the present time of resistance to taxes is peculiarly favourable for tempting insolvent landowners to try what they can do to get rid of the interest of the national debt. At another time he might as well preach to the winds. The landowners, whatever the fall of rent and the inability to pay the interest of mortgages, dare not propose any plan of confiscation merely for their own relief. But they will not look with much dissatisfaction on practices which may lead step by step to the object of their wishes. The devil, in the shape of Cobbett, is at their elbow, painting the manifold advantages they would derive from cheating the national creditors. In the *Register* of this day he is quite sanguine as to the success of his schemes. The national creditors, by way of encouragement, are painted as people who ought to be thankful if they are only robbed. He charitably sums them up as Jews and usurers, and mumping old devils of maids, and retired sharks, and butlers, and housekeepers that have cheated their masters. “Oh, say you; but then my hook-nosed, round-eyed, tan-skinned, and devil-begotten Jews and usurers, and all the mumping old devils of maids, and retired sharks, and butlers and housekeepers that have cheated their masters; then these delightful creatures cannot get their interest in full tale, and in gold of full weight and fineness.” This is by way of illustrating the proverb, “Give a dog a bad name and hang him.” Because he himself has pig’s eyes, and the Jews have round eyes, the Jews ought to be robbed! And this is a fair account of the hundreds of thousands of heads of families who have confided their savings to the funds! We will answer for it, that in every town and village throughout the island, the most industrious and deserving tradesmen and mechanics will be found in the list of those who have intrusted their savings to the security of the nation. The degree of heart-rending distress, the sufferings of

whole families at once plunged from competence into poverty—the widows and orphans driven to the streets or the workhouses, all go for nothing with this lover of equitable adjustment.—

“The people (quoth he) coolly will insist upon the taxes being taken from their shoulders in the malt, hops, soap, legacies, probates, and some other things; and then the landowners must pay the interest of the debt, and their estates must be given to the Jews.”

The landowners would not be sorry to see the people take the hint, and commence a game of plundering each other. We have, however, too much confidence in the love of justice of the people of England, to suppose that they would willingly sanction any course of confiscation. But let them beware how they enter on these questionable courses of resistance to taxes. One step leads to another, and before they are aware they may be entangled in proceedings from which at one time they would have shrunk, and which they would bewail in vain when they saw the calamity in which they had involved the industrious classes.

We will not say more on this subject at present. We have said enough to show our sense of the necessity of attending to the signs of the times.

Now, I dare say, that the stupid creatures who still continue to take and read this most stupid of all newspapers, believe, that I have recommended ceasing to pay interest on the whole of the debt, and giving the poor fools who have their money there, as they call it, not even the means of buying, or washing, a shirt. This is what he calls my equitable adjustment.” It is hard to see how it could be equitable, if this were the nature of the proposition. In short (and my readers know it well), this is a string of dirty misrepresentations and falsehoods from the beginning to the end. Why does not the dirty hound, I beg the hound's pardon: the dirty pug-dog; the dirty Jews' cur; does he not give my article as I always give his? It is because he dare not. I dare give his to my readers: I

am not afraid of the force of his observations: I am not so base a coward as to be afraid to do justice to him. Let him not tell his readers what I say; but let him show them what I say; and then his paper will be worth reading.

I might leave the matter here. Every fair-dealing man will say that this is answer enough to him, and that it is even more than such a dastardly scrawler deserves. But, for the sake of the subject; for the sake of the great question now at issue; namely, whether the interest of the debt ought to be reduced, I will make an observation or two upon this dastardly article.

The case is this: the tax-paying people, in and about London, seem to be resolved not to pay any more assessed taxes; it appears that the most powerful newspapers are on the side of the people in this respect; and I, very anxiously wishing for the assessed taxes to be repealed, but at the same time, wishing, that the people should act justly and sensibly, as well as with spirit, lay before them a true state of the affair, and tell them that there is neither justice nor sense in calling upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take off these taxes, unless we be ready to support him in making an equitable reduction of the interest of the debt. I am to take it for granted, of course, that those persons who read that, had already read the contents of the previous *Registers*, in which I had proved, not said, not asserted; but had proved beyond all question, that we were now paying the fundholders eleven millions a year more than we ought to pay them. Having proved this, I told the assessed-tax resisters that their conduct was unjust and senseless, unless they were ready to support the Ministers in making an equitable reduction of the interest of the debt.

What could be more reasonable and more just than this conduct on my part? and yet, for having done this, this yellow-pelted murderer of the *Chronicle*, calls me the devil, and represents me as having pig's eyes; and is poltroon enough not to put his name to the paper.

A pretty story about "widows and orphans plunged from competence into poverty!" Why, the vile scrawler does not perceive, that it is not a taking of the whole away that I propose, but only an equitable reduction. If we come to widows and orphans and whole families dashed from competence into poverty, look at the effects of that scourge of all scourges, PEEL'S BILL. How many hundred of thousands of families has that plunged into ruin! How many millions of working people are now suffering half-starvation from the load of taxes occasioned by this infernal debt! According to this anonymous ruffian, the fundholders are the most *industrious* and *deserving* people in the nation. Generally speaking they necessarily must be the *worst* people in the nation. It is written in the word of God, and in the laws of man, that those who love *interest of money*, those whose souls hanker after *increase* of money, are bad; generally bad in principle, bad in heart. It does not follow by any means that one man is not to lend money to another man, and that he is not to receive the value of its use; but then he knows what use it is for; he knows the party that he is lending it to; it is for some purpose or other conducive to the good of that party, and, therefore, conducive to the good of the neighbourhood and the good of the country at large. When one man takes a mortgage upon another man's estate, he supplies that mortgager with the means of doing some good to himself or his family; and, in return, he receives a part of the rent, or yearly value, of the estate. But, when a man puts money in what are called the *funds*, this is what he says to himself: "I could lend this money to my neighbours; but, the interest might, by some possibility, not be punctually paid, and I could not get the capital back again at any moment that I please. Now, here is the Government; if I lend my money to it, that is to say, put it in their funds, I am sure to be punctually paid the interest, and I can take out my capital when I

like. To be sure, this interest comes out of the taxes, therefore, I do in fact get it from my neighbours, friends, brethren, and parents, and I know the working people pay part of it in taxes, which reduce them to bad living and to rags; I know that a great army is kept up to compel them to pay me the interest; the devil will mark me out for his own, I know; but I will get a great bag of money; and, Mr. CANTWELL, that 'grace is all-sufficient;' and I will cheat the devil at last; so here goes my money to purchase hundreds in the three *per shents*."

The wretch does not actually articulate these words to himself; but this is the substance of what passes in his mind, unless he be a sheer fool, and know nothing at all of the nature of the thing; whither the capital goes, or whence the interest comes, or any thing at all about it.

Then, beside this burden upon the people, arising from this damnable spirit of usury, there is the transferring of the wealth and power of the country to other countries. Dirty-souled wretches, like the one I have just described, greedily scratch up the little parcels that go to make the great heap. Then there are big monsters who gamble with that heap, and who send away English taxes to many of, or all, the tyrants upon the face of the earth. The "BONDS" of PEDRO and of MIGUEL are both now exchanging for the proceeds of English taxes. RUSSIAN BONDS are also in the market fetching away English gold, proceeding from the taxes. It was English taxes, in fact, that carried the bloody RUSSIANS into POLAND. I published, a little while ago, a list of *shareholders* in an AMERICAN CANAL, amongst whom were a great many English noblemen and gentlemen, and fundholder men and fundholder women. This could not be, if it were not for this infernal system of funding. In numerous cases the wretches go abroad and live there, and spend the interest there; appearing to have no business to be in this world, except for the purpose of draining away the resources of England.

industry and care ; and yet these are to be called the *most industrious* and *deserving* people of this country!

It is manifestly the object of this dastardly scribe, to persuade his readers, that it is only the *landowners* who have an interest in reducing the debt. Ah! caitiff! The people know better. The mechanic knows that the fundholder takes two-pence of the price of every pot of beer that he drinks, two-pence upon every pound of sugar that he uses, two-pence upon every pound of good soap that he uses, nine-pence upon every pound of tea that he uses; and that (not to go further) out of every shilling that he pays for tobacco the fundholder takes ten-pence. And he knows, that, when he and his weeping mother went to pay the administration and probate duty, before his father's corpse was hardly in the grave, three fourths of the money squeezed out of them was to go to the fundholder. Oh, no! The people know well, that it is they who pay the interest of this enormous debt; this is what they say to the landowners, and what I say, too:

"You have the power to reduce the interest of this debt in an equitable manner: you have the *power* to do it, or pay the interest yourselves: give your own estates to the Jews, if you like; but you shall not give them the fruit of our labour, and the fruit of the labour of our children who are now in the cradle." Oh, no! You scrawling reptile, who are yourself a sucker of the blood of the industrious, the people are not afraid of being "*entangled*" by shaking taxes from their shoulders. This is the first time that I ever heard of people being "*entangled*" by getting rid of a burden. However, I have said enough about the matter for the present: the case is too plain for any man of common sense to misunderstand any part of it. For me the landowners may do what they like: I care not one straw what they do; but I am quite convinced that the industrious men of the present day will not saddle this debt upon their children, who are now in the cradle.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Why cannot this fellow put his name in that manner?

REBELLION OF THE DEAD WEIGHT.

If the reader never laughed before, he will laugh at reading the two letters that I am now about to insert. The first comes from a dead-weight man, who is spending our money at MARSEILLES; who calls himself a *constant reader of the Register*, and who, it is very clear, never read it in his life. Little did he dream of what I was saying in the *Register* of last week. This fellow is for skinning the Ministers alive, if they attempt to take his hand out of our pockets (*or the hands of his relations*), and to prevent them from enjoying the air in the south of France, at our expense.

The second letter is of a directly different description; and, if it state truth, as I think it is likely to do, it ought to be immediately attended to by Lord ALTHORP or Lord GREY. It relates to one of the legacies left them by their predecessors; but it is high time that they show us, that there has not been a reform of the Parliament for nothing, and that their loudly-professed economy and retrenchment are something more than mere empty sounds. It is an unbearable insult to the people, that their beds should be taken from under them and their dinners snatched from their tables, to support and pamper idlers such as are described in this letter.

Marseilles, Bouches-du-Rhône,
24. Sept. 1833.

SIR,—Although I have not the honour of being known to you, from your well-known liberal principles, and your de-

sire at all times to aid the distressed and put down oppression, I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines upon a subject that I am sure has not escaped your notice. It was really with horror and dismay that I saw, a few days ago, a circular from the Horse Guards, relative to half-pay officers; as to the Commander-in-Chief, it does not lie in his power to enforce such an order, and I am sure that no government on earth ever before thought of such a *black mean act* of robbery, particularly as relates to the poor subaltern officers. The legislature gave them half-pay, and the legislature *only* can take it away; and there never will be a Parliament found to commit such a breach of faith. The poorest man in England, though taxed to his very *skin*, never grudged the poor half-pay officer his paltry pittance. The plundering order has already made enemies, of not only the half-pay officers, but of all the officers of the army for the present Government, and what will they do when they come to want experienced officers, the chief thing in an army, and that day will *sooner arrive* than they imagine, with all their pretended wisdom.

Half-pay was given as a remuneration for past services, and such an officer is not subject to military law; and in the case of General Ross on half-pay, the unanimous opinion of the twelve judges was such in April 1805, vide *Mc Arthur on Court Martial*, vol. i, p. 195, ed. 1806, and in the case of Lieutenant Colonel Abernethy, of the Royal Marines, "That officers on half-pay were not amenable to the articles of war." I could say much more on the subject, but it would be a pity to take up your useful time, being assured that you will notice the thing in Parliament, and *immediately* in your valuable *Register*, which I never failed to read for many years, but unfortunately at this great distance I cannot see it now. I am no half-pay officer at present, but I have many friends and relations such; and this shabby, plundering, villanous attempt has made my blood boil since I saw it; but it cannot succeed, as *every officer will or should resist it to the last*; the

law is on their side. You have my full liberty to publish this if you think proper.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
your most obedient
and faithful servant,
W. HOWARD PERCY.

SIR,—I beg to apologize for relating the following particulars, but as they are positive facts, I presume they will meet with that attention you may consider consistent. You, of course, sir, are fully aware that great difficulty exists in the Committee getting accurate information respecting every imposition practised upon the public, but the following is one that I feel satisfied the Committee will see the propriety of altering: most particularly allow me to mention, that about five years since, a person was sent here from London as an Excise Officer, by the name of — — — — —; he held the situation about four years only, and has now actually retired upon an allowance of upwards of 320*l.* per annum; he is a very healthy strong man, and I may say in the prime of life, about fifty years of age.

Now, sir, allow me to ask the question, why not employ him in some Government situation for the sum he is now receiving? That income, I as a merchant, with many others, would be thankful to receive, where there was no risk of losses; but this man is revelling in every luxury, and boasts of driving the best horse in the country. Really, sir, this improvident lavish of the finances of the public calls loudly for your interference, particularly under the retrenching system Government has so laudably undertaken. For my own part, I would be the last person that would wish to deprive a man of common remuneration, but positively, when we see a hearty man receiving so much money for doing nothing (as he himself boasts) when the fluctuation of business is almost beyond comprehension, it is really appalling. There are various stations always vacant which this person ought to fill, under the Government, for the 320*l.* which he receives, and of course save

the public the expense of employing another person.

A gentleman in this town informed me he had written to Mr. Hume on the subject, but as this case cannot be made too public, I leave it entirely to your superior talent to act upon.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
A MERCHANT.

Liverpool, Oct. 8, 1833.

WILBERFORCE.

TO

LORD VISCOUNT MORPETH:

On the Proceedings and Speeches at York, on the 1. of October, 1833, relative to a subscription for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, who was for some time a member for the county of YORK, but afterwards a member for the rotten borough of BRAMBER, in Sussex, and who was buried in Westminster Abbey alongside of CASTLEREAGH and PITT, and followed to the grave by a mass of persons, almost the whole of whom are, in some way or another, living out of the taxes.

Bolt-court, 23. October, 1833.

MY LORD,—By the title of this letter, your lordship will perceive that I have observed what passed at York on the 1. of October. I assure your lordship, that nothing but a deep sense of what is due to truth, to justice, and to the good of England, could have induced me to address your lordship on that subject. The parties who made a figure at the meeting here alluded to, appear to have been pretty numerous; and particularly the parties who signed the requisition for the meeting. I select your lordship as the immediate channel of my observations upon the subject; because you may be deemed the leading man of those who are members for the great, the enterprising, the industrious, the really

wealthy, but the cajoled, the deluded, the fanatical, county of York; and, besides this, I select your lordship, because the respect which I have for your public character, and the belief which I have in the integrity of your general motives and intentions, must naturally tend to mitigate those expressions of indignation and scorn which it is impossible that every sincere man should not entertain towards all the parties engaged in this exhibition of cant and delusion.

I will insert here the published account, that I find, of this transaction at York; that is to say, I will insert the published report of the speeches made there on this occasion. At the end of each speech I will insert such observations as the case appears to me to call for; beginning with that of the Archbishop of YORK, and ending with the speech of your lordship. In 1817, I being then in *Long Island*, whither I had fled from those dungeons which WILBERFORCE had lent his hand to open, and wherein were to be shut the PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS, selected by his friends CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH. At that time and from that place, I addressed a letter to this same WILBERFORCE, which was published in England, November 15, 1817. In that letter, which I shall republish, word for word, at the end of this letter to you, I took up the cunning, the crafty, the mischievous, the coolly cruel, political deceiver, from his first start in public life, and traced him down through all his vile acts to that year 1817. His career did not end then: he figured again in his old character, in 1819; and again in 1820, when, in the performance of his last public act, he was, if not stunned by the hootings of the virtuous and sensible people of England, almost literally covered with their SPITTLE! May this be the end of all those who have followed, and shall follow, his example! After the letter, to which I have alluded, so tracing him down, I shall add the particulars relating to the *close of his public life*; a close so just, and so honourable to the understandings as well as to the hearts of the

people of England. Read this political biography of your political saint. Read it with more attention than you appear to have read the Bible. If you will not, the people of England will; aye, and the people in America, and on the Continent, too. I now proceed to insert the speeches as aforesaid.

The ARCHBISHOP OF YORK said, the feeling excited by the death of Mr. Wilberforce has not been confined to the county of York only; the news has every where been received with expressions of sincere and affectionate regret. No sooner was the event known in London, than many of the most distinguished members of Parliament—the rank, the talent, and virtue of the country—without any distinction of political party, stood forth, with one accord, to claim for the benefactor of mankind (for so they justly styled him) the highest sepulchral honour that could be awarded to a British subject. (Loud cheers). He was, in truth, a burning and a shining light in his generation, and his light so shone before men that they glorified God for having seen his good works. Whether then we contemplate this highly gifted individual as a genuine patriot, whose tried integrity, and whose mild and fascinating eloquence won for him, in several Parliaments, the warmest esteem and approbation, even of those who, politically speaking, were his most determined opponents; or as the christian philanthropist, actively and zealously promoting every good institution, and dispensing, within the more immediate circle of his own influence, blessing and comfort to all around him; or lastly, as the consistent follower of his Saviour—as one who, not ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, manfully fought under his banners through evil and good report, and continued Christ's faithful soldier and servant until his life's end: in whichever of these characters he may be brought to our recollection, we may rest assured, that the name of Wilberforce will always be associated with the remembrance, that by his unceasing efforts, his firmness, and perseverance in the great cause of negro emancipation (cheers)—the great triumph was, under heaven, finally achieved, which was to liberate thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-creatures from the most degrading bondage, and to open to them a course of moral and religious improvement to which in no other way they could ever have attained: we may rest assured, I say, that the name of Wilberforce, so distinguished and so ennobled, will descend to posterity with unfading honours, and continue to command the veneration of mankind, so long as genius, virtue, and piety, shall have place in the world. (Loud cheers).

Very poor, common-place stuff. Quite unworthy of an archbishop, and calcu-

lated not in the smallest degree to break that fall of the church which every man of common sense sees is close at hand.

Earl FITZWILLIAM said, they were not assembled together to celebrate Wilberforce as a politician, but to do honour to his memory in a much higher character. (Cheers). Many men had an idea that because Mr. Wilberforce had a strong religious feeling, and made religion the great guide and object of his life, there must necessarily have been something of the severe and morose in his character. But those who knew him were best qualified to contradict that belief. If, indeed, he were to mention what was the most remarkable feature of his character, it would be the delight which he manifestly felt at seeing the pleasure and gratification of others, though the very thing which gave them pleasure and delight would not of itself please him. That he considered to be the best proof of his being inspired with the true spirit of Christianity.

I wondered what this noble Lord would find to say upon this occasion; he, who had followed BURKE's advice, and, as one would thrust a bit of wire through a key-hole, had thrust the saint out of Yorkshire at the expense of a couple of hundred thousand pounds; had compelled him to keep out of Parliament, or, if he came into it, to come smelling a mile off of the rotten borough of BRAMBER. I wondered what this noble Lord would find to say in a case like this. "*It was not as a politician.*" What is a politician, may it please your lordship? It is a man who meddles with the polity of a nation, the principal feature in which polity is, the things done relative to the making and enforcing of laws. And what was this man *else*, than a politician? He was a father and a husband, and, perhaps, he had a real friend, somewhere or another; he was an author of some very canting nonsense about religion; but it was as a worker in the House of Commons that he was known as a public man: it was by his efforts *there* that he was known; and how bad, how wicked, how profoundly hypocritical, how mischievous, those efforts were, let his true history tell. It was his "*humanity*" that was to give him his monument. That humanity which led him to back PITT in pursuing the life of his former associate, Mr. HORNE TOOKE; which led him to

support, by speech and by vote, every sanguinary measure of PITT against the people of England; which led him to do the same during the dreadful sway of PERCEVAL, LIVERPOOL, SIDMOUTH, and CASTLEREAGH; and which, as his last effort of humanity, led him to endeavour to wheedle poor Queen Caroline out of the country, to flee from trial, and to cover her name with everlasting infamy.

GEORGE STRICKLAND, Esq., M P., said, that the ground-work and foundation of that eloquence which delighted all who heard him, was the feeling of his heart which sympathised with a *fellow-creature in distress*. There had been a question as to whether the monument should be at Hull, or in a more public situation. If he were asked the question, he should say—"Let them use their endeavours to erect *it*"; for he was convinced that, what they were then doing was not so much for the honour of Mr. Wilberforce as to gratify their own feelings upon that occasion. Mr. Wilberforce had raised his own monument—*(cheers)*—in a more durable manner than any thing that they could bestow. He has done that which would hand down his name to posterity, wherever virtue existed. (Applause).

Ah! Mr. STRICKLAND, you would not have said that in London; you knew where you were. His *sympathy for the distressed* did not extend itself to the victims of SIDMOUTH'S and CASTLEREAGH'S Bills; not at all to the starving wives and children of those *reformers* whom he assisted to authorise SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH to shut up in dungeons at their pleasure, without cause assigned, without ever being brought to trial, and who had never committed any crime at all. Yes, Mr. STRICKLAND, after have a monument in every town in the cracked-skull county. Three years will not pass over our heads before even the people of Yorkshire will spit upon these monuments, on which ought to be inscribed, "*SACRED TO CANT AND TO CRUELTY*;" and it will be convenient for the lads not to be far to carry the rotten eggs for the purpose, eggs, so strictly typical of the *lump* for which WILBERFORCE sat. WILBERFORCE erected a monument of himself, has he? Why, then stick these lumps of stone or of mortar? I were, I think, one of those who

had the real humanity and justice to express your disapprobation of the bloody proceedings at MANCHESTER in 1819. Act a manly part, then; scorn to pay your court to fanaticism; be sincere; and inscribe on the monument, that this humanity-monger spoke and voted against all inquiry into that bloody affair. Be a man of sincerity, I say; inscribe this on the monument; and then you may safely leave it in the hands of the people. In default of a sufficiency of sense and of spirit in the people of Yorkshire, a detachment of "*uneducated*" chopsticks, in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, or Hampshire, would go and tumble the plastered-up thing from its base..... but! here he comes; pull off your hat, Mr. STRICKLAND, and shrink within your shell! Here he comes, the great promoter of the *Penny Magazine*, which, this month has the picture of an *American pigeon* at the head of it, which seems in the act of cooing the pennies out of the pockets of the "*educated*" part of the people. I once shot thirty-six of these pigeons at one shot, not one of which was so great a fool as any one of those who expends a penny upon this magazine..... Here he comes!

LORD BROUGHAM made the following remarks. If I am asked to what kind of institution my view particularly point, I should say—there are many all equally useful and equally wanted, permit me to say, notwithstanding all the monuments which charity has raised in this great county, and any of which would accomplish the object in view. Some have proposed an asylum for the training and instruction of those who have been blind from birth. There is a blind asylum in Lancashire, which is found insufficient even for the wants of that county, much more for the neighbouring districts of Yorkshire. In this county there is no such institution, and there is none more wanted. But, gentlemen, my views go a little beyond a limited institution of this kind; and I am not without sanguine hopes that even funds may be collected which will suffice to enable Yorkshire, *which began*, continued, and assisted to bring to its triumphant close that great cause of the *abolition of the African slave trade*; and at length, but not until the eleventh hour, and till it could be deferred not a moment longer, the extirpation of negro slavery itself; that in Yorkshire, which has the glory of this good work, may also be performed another good work, which is hardly less wanted at home

than that was among our colonies,—I mean, not the extirpation of slavery, which, happily we know not here, (cheers)—but the *extirpation of ignorance*, which, unhappily, we do know here, and the bitter fruits of which *we have tasted*, and still taste; the execrable offspring of which, I trust, from the present hour will, with its hitherto fruitful parent, be put down, and cease to infest mankind,—I mean that execrable though legitimate offspring of ignorance, discord and vice. (Great cheering). If, gentlemen, I should be told that the Government of the country can grapple with it, and may bestow a sufficient portion of the *public revenue* towards its extirpation, I would say that my hopes are not very sanguine in that quarter, *I mean as regards the Parliament*; when I see at how slow a pace and with how little prodigal a hand its supplies have been afforded for providing for the *education of the people*; when I see too that it is at so late a period. It is fifteen years since the report of the education committee called upon the representatives of the people to bestow *some funds* for their education, and they have now at length bestowed to the amount of 20,000*l.* at a time when 20,000,000*l.* has been bestowed, (although not unjustly but with my concurrence), as compensation due upon the abolition of negro slavery. (Cheers). I therefore think that the *efforts of the people* of this country are still wanted in *furthering this good work*, and that Parliament will not make those supplies more, until the people themselves again take up and patronize this question. (Cheers).

My Lord BROUGHAM, as WILBERFORCE's successor, has actually lived upon the negro-job, all his political life-time; but, while he is bent upon the "*extirpation of ignorance*," he seems to be as ignorant of the origin of the abolition of African slavery, as some lawyers have the impudence to say that he is of the law. No! my Lord BROUGHAM. The thing was not *begun* in Yorkshire; it was begun in PENNSYLVANIA, twenty years before Yorkshire or WILBERFORCE ever opened their lips upon the subject. Well, then, says your canting friend JEMMY CROPPER, it was begun by the "*Society of Friends*." Thou sayest not the truth, JEMMY. It was begun, and most effectually begun, by an *Englishman*, a native of COLCHESTER, in Essex, who was punished for his beginning by that very Society of Friends; but who at last compelled them to do justice to their slaves, though they had the base hypocrisy never to do justice to him. Another time I will

give the true history of this matter: in the meanwhile, if this great useful-knowledge-monger were to bring from PHILADELPHIA the history of the life of BENJAMIN HOLLOWAY, with a frontispiece, representing him living in that cave, to which the rich Quakers had driven him, on account of his efforts for the slaves; if he were to do this; and propose to raise a monument to this man's memory, then, indeed, his readers might find some compensation for the time which he has caused them to lose in turning over his rubbishy pages of nonsense.

Perhaps it is decorous in a Lord Chancellor, to call upon the "*people themselves*" to come and bother their representatives to give away their money, in order to create readers of the stupid *Penny Magazine*. The argument is a famous one, to be sure; that, *because* the Parliament voted away twenty millions of the people's money, to make the negroes "*better off than the working people of England*;" *because* the House did this, it did wrong in not voting more than twenty thousand pounds in carrying on this shocking delusion called "*education*," which is neither more nor less than a scheme for preventing the taking off of any tax whatsoever. I trust that the House of Commons will never vote another shilling for this purpose. "*What!*" they will say to us, "*reduce the revenue*," "when it is so much wanted for the *education of the people*!" This would be the everlasting pretence. The clamour for the abolition of negro slavery, chiefly proceeding from the cracked-skull county of York, have added to the burdens of the country *by a million and a half in the year*. Do the people want another million and a half added, to promote their own education? And are they such beasts, as not to be as able to choose schoolmasters and schoolmistresses as he who is at the head of the London police? Amidst all this, we hear of endless prosecutions of persons for selling cheap publications; and the noise and the nonsense on both sides go nearly to the stunning of us to death.

The Rev. W. VERNON HARCOURT said, that the conduct of Mr. Wilberforce had some effect in changing the moral character of society. At the time he stepped forward into public life all the highest attributes of the human mind, whether they were the will or any other powers of genius, philosophy, or science, had been tinctured with irreligion. At that moment Mr. Wilberforce, a man of genius, stood forward and held up the standard of Christianity; he was not ashamed of his God and Saviour, although it was fashionable in those days for wits to sit in the seats of scorn. Philosophers had at that time reasoned themselves into a belief of the non-existence of the Deity; and just when religion wanted a champion, he manifested that moral fortitude which was one of his first qualifications. They were therefore not met to erect a memorial to his name as a great man or a good man, but as a great good man, who had the fortitude to make his goodness valuable in the world. In concluding, he exhorted them to subscribe, in order to form such an institution as had been described by the Lord Chancellor. When they agreed to raise such a fund; he was certain it would be raised. (Cheers).

Ah! With all my heart! Let them subscribe for BROUGHAM'S and Lord MELBOURNE'S schools, as long as they please; but *tax* one single penny, they shall not, if I can prevent it.

HENRY GALLY KNIGHT, Esq., M. P.—The last words which Mr. WILBERFORCE addressed to him were: "*I hope to God there will be emancipation; I also hope there may be compensation.*"

I have never before had the honour to hear this gentleman's name. He is an excellent speaker, particularly as to length. So the saint expired as he had lived! He had always spoke and voted for every tax laid upon the people, and never spoke and voted for the taking off of a tax; and, at last, just as he was going to leave us, he expressed his approbation of loading the broken-backed people of England; the skinny and bare-boned labourers of his own country, in order to make the blacks "better off than they," of which a Government pamphlet, lately published, *boasts*; and in which boast the *Quarterly Review* has laid a most appropriate lash. This ranting fellow never had any feeling for the meritorious and laborious people of England; and all his speeches and notes, claim for his memory their hearty execration. But! now I respect-

fully approach your lordship, who treated the meeting to something between a homily and a prayer. God forbid that I should question your sincerity, or your piety, whatever I may think of your assertions and your taste.

LORD MORPETH—My Lord Archbishop and Gentlemen, I come forward in accordance with the request which has been addressed to me. But, I ask you, gentlemen, what person, highly endowed as he may be, will not shrink into himself while he utters the name and contemplates the character, or stands above the grave, of Mr. Wilberforce. (Cheers). I cannot forbear to hold a letter which he was kind enough to write to me, upon my first accession to the seat which he so long and so industriously filled, as one of the most gratifying trophies of my connexion with this county. (Cheers). Leaving behind such unimportant matters, on one great point I have the fullest assurance that I coincide with many who fill this room, that in our past admiration and our present homage, the main ingredient has not been so much the result of his rare endowments, and high achievements of mental cultivation, or the moral courage of the eloquence that *never palliated what was wrong*, or the wit that never sported with what was right—(cheers)—as of that pervading disposition of the mind and habit of life which led the man thus prodigally gifted, to walk humbly with his God—(cheers)—thus leaving to us the legitimate pride of glorying in the qualities which he hallowed by his humility, and exalted by his piety. (Cheers). I have given vent to sentiments of veneration fuller than I could vent over any other obsequies, above the bier of the ordinary statesman or hero; without disparagement to their just claims to national regard, images and ideas would be apt to mingle, which might impart something like alloy to the untroubled serenity of the retrospect; but over the tomb of the man, the paramount object and primary inspiration of whose life and labour was the glory of his Maker, one reflection dwells in the heart and rises to the lips:—"MAY I DIE THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT-EOUS, AND MAY MY LAST END BE LIKE HIS."

"Amen," with a twang through the nose, and the eyes so much turned up, that you could see nothing but the whites! This homily should have been free from those antitheses, in which persons of very refined taste, such as your lordship, are apt to indulge. Such very beautiful construction of sentences do not very well square with the warm and *unprepared* effusions of piety, coming directly from the heart,

and having very little to do with the head; and it is still more unfortunate when this musical arrangement of words is permitted to lead us into a sacrifice of truth at the shrine of harmony. For the sake of the very pretty *see-saw*, your lordship was tempted to assert; tempted to state the monstrous proposition, that WILBERFORCE NEVER PALLIATED WHAT WAS WRONG; when the records of Parliament will show that the whole of his public life was spent in doing this very thing; and that, too, with more craft and more effect than any other man that ever lived; unless you be prepared to contend, that all the squanderings of the *see* whom you now call Tories; that all their bloody wars; that all their executions of men called traitors; that all their gags and all their dungeons; that all the loads of taxes which they laid upon the nation; that all their cruel persecutions of Parliamentary reformers; that the slaughter at MANCHESTER; that the Six Acts; that their persecution of Queen CAROLINE; unless you be prepared to contend that all these were right, then your assertion is not true; for he palliated every one of them without one single exception.

But, my lord, were you in earnest, when you said, that your veneration for him was greater than it could be for any other person? Have you no father, brother, sister, child, or wife? And the King, then? Would not your veneration, expressed over his obsequies, be as great as that expressed over the obsequies of this little key-hole gentleman? It was a mere flourish of the tongue; but men in your exalted situation should take care how they give in to such flourishes. Men, who, like me, look upon this whole matter as a canting farce, will excuse such poetic flights; but that is not the case with great numbers of persons: they take you to mean what you say; and they will, from this passage, conclude your lordship not to be overburdened with sense; or to have some little lack of sincerity; or some want of just and natural feeling.

But, the close, the prayer, the pious

ejaculation: "May I die the death of the righteous, and may my last end be like his!" Had these been the quoted words of a pious man, one might have compounded for the extravagance by estimating the piety of the prayer. Your lordship has *not read the Bible*; or, if you have, you have forgotten its contents; otherwise you would not have made yourself a personification of the hypocrite BALAAM, who had made a bargain with BALAK to curse the Israelites on a promise of promotion as his reward; but who, being remonstrated with by his ass, went and blessed those that he had bargained to curse; and who then exclaimed, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!" So that this "primary inspiration" of your lordship produced an adopting of the words of one of the most remarkable hypocrites recorded in holy writ! All that was wanted to render the thing complete was, that the gabbling fanatics by whom you were surrounded, should have exclaimed, in the words of the humble and more reasonable animal that had borne the hypocritical BALAAM so long on her back: "Art not we thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since we were thine unto this day?"

This would have been a suitable termination of the, at once, ludicrous and impious farce; but, as terminated by your lordship, it will not be entitled to the last place amongst the contemptible exhibitions of the present day; and I now dismiss it with those feelings which are naturally excited by it, having only to add, an expression of my sorrow that your lordship, who have so many good qualities, not unaccompanied with those talents which the greater part of men might well envy, should have lent your countenance to a proceeding so well calculated to excite resentment in the mind of every just and sensible man in the kingdom.

I am,
your lordship's
most humble,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
 ROTTEN BOROUGH OF BRAMBER.

On his general Public Conduct, and especially on his recent support of, and attempt to defend, the renewal of the Absolute-power-of-imprisonment Act, by which the people of England are placed on the same footing as that of the subjects of the Old Bourbons.

*North Hampstead, Long Island,
 September 4, 1817.*

SIR,—For a great number years few persons enjoyed a higher reputation than you did, as a friend of liberty and humanity; and, as I have long ago proved, very few persons indeed ever enjoyed any thing more undeservedly. Of late years, you have been seen, by all well-informed persons, in your true light; but there are some of your recent acts, which call for an especial commentary, and, if, as a prelude to that commentary, I go back and take a short sketch of the whole of your political career, the public will excuse the length of my observations, not on account of your present weight and importance, but on account of the mighty mischiefs, in the perpetration of which, you, for a long series of years, have been a considerable actor.

You started as the eager advocate of parliamentary reform; you are ending your course as a persecutor and calumniator of reformers; and, what adds greatly to the turpitude is, that your persecution is carried on under the garb of morality and religion. Age has taught you, you will say, to *change your opinions* with regard to the question of parliamentary reform. But as it is unfortunate for SOUTHEY, that from being an eulogist of the principles of Wat Tyler, he has become an eulogist of the principle of the divine right of kings, just after having obtained possession of a *sinecure place*; as it was unfortunate for Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG, that, from being an eulogist of the French revolution, and an apologist for even the burn-

ing of the houses of the noblesse and of the cutting of the throats of their sons and of the ravishing of their daughters, he became one of the most furious enemies of that revolution, and also an enemy to reform in England (of which he had before been an advocate) just at the time that he obtained from Pitt a place of five hundred pounds a year; and to prove that such place was a sinecure, in fact, the public need only be told that he has retained it for years since he has been, unfortunately, blind; as this concurrence of circumstances has been fatally decisive of the character of these gentlemen, as it has drawn their teeth and taken all the venom from their bite; so, sir, the present reformers in England can endure without regret your attempts to add to their sufferings, when they reflect, that it is not *the member for Yorkshire*, who, in your person, has put in his snap amongst the rest, but the member for a notoriously rotten borough, the members for which, as stated in Mr. Oldfield's book, are put in by the Duke of Rutland and Lord Calthorpe. Whether you hold your seat by the good pleasure of his grace, or whether your worthy colleague the late contractor, Mr. IRVING, has that honour, the reformers know not and care not. They know that you are the representative, not of any part of the people, but of the will of one of those Noblemen. Besides the suspicious circumstances, however, under which this *change of opinion* has taken place, there is this circumstance attending it, that, like SOUTHEY, who has been well compared to the renegadoes in the Barbary states, who always treat Christian captives with more severity than that with which they are treated by the native Turks; like SOUTHEY, you are become a *persecutor* of men who hold the opinions which you formerly held; you are doing your best to procure the imprisonment and destruction of men because they are acting upon those principles which you formerly inculcated; and you are endeavouring to justify the total abrogation of all the laws protecting men's liberties and lives, because a majority of the people (now become really

enlightened), complain of those abuses, of which you loudly complained more than thirty years ago, and which abuses have since been augmented in degree a hundred-fold.

But, it is impossible to do justice to your character; it is impossible to suffer you to close your career, without great wrong done to an honest, a frank, a long-deceived, and long-injured people, without taking a look backwards, and tracing you along down, through the principal acts of your life, from the last-mentioned period to the present time. There is one string, upon which to touch with skill in England is sure to obtain the operator general applause; that is, the string of *humanity*, of compassion, of feeling for the oppressed. This string you touched, and you touched it with a master's hand. The cause of the *Negro Slaves* was a cause worthy of the feelings of the people of England, especially if the facts had been such as they were described in your statements. Those who recollect the time to which I am now alluding, will not easily forget the enthusiasm which prevailed. The speeches, the meetings, the subscriptions, the everlasting outcry and the endless number of pamphlets, of which the present Mr. GURNEY's mother was the grand retailer; and I remember that she herself talked in a style quite worthy of the parent of the faithful counsel of Lord Cochrane, of the Deputy Attorney-General to the Isle of Ely and the subaltern prosecutor of Watson. This old woman had all the eloquence which belongs to that species of philanthropy, of which you have been the great propagator, if not the founder. Her love for mankind was quite abstracted; it was of the purest sort, wholly unmixed with any alloy of the love of country or of any particular attachment to this or that race of beings. If it had any partiality, it was with regard to colours, and the old lady did appear to be a little biassed on the side of the colour black, in which, however, she was not altogether disinterested; for, the constant smoke of London, co-operating with that carelessness of externals to which great minds are so

prone, had given to her skin a complexion somewhat darker than that which is usually denominated dingy. Now whether this really was the mother of the faithful counsel or not, I really cannot tell; but Mrs. Gurney, in Holborn, a little below Gray's Inn-lane, sold me some of the philanthropic pamphlets, of which she had whole bales, at not more, I believe, than a halfpenny each, and her person and talk were such as I have described.

You do not seem to have thought, that the spreading of *cheap publications* was wrong, much less a crime against the laws, in those times; yet, I will venture to say, that more falsehoods, more malignant misrepresentations, were never circulated in the world, except, perhaps, those that have recently been circulated against the reformers in England. It was right to put a stop to the enslaving of the Africans; but was it right to calumniate their masters? That such property existed was an evil; so you and many others contend, that the existence of *tithes* is an evil; but, I have not yet heard that any of you have thought of turning the clergy out to grass, and still less of holding up those clergy as men whose throats ought to be cut by the hands of the people. If only a thousandth part of what you alleged against the West India planters had been true, they merited instant death, and the extermination of all their families from the hands of their slaves; but almost the whole of what you asserted was false, and must from the nature of things have been false, because the planters were accused of acts in direct contradiction to their own interests. Yet, what delusion prevailed upon this subject! No small part of the people of England made the great sacrifice of foregoing the use of sugar, to which they were exhorted by you and your crafty tribe; while you, I warrant you, had the sense to confine yourself to the precept.

You now talk of the necessity of *educating* the people as a remedy for their discontents. In order to convince them that they ought to think themselves well off in paying [one half of

their earnings in taxes, you would begin by giving them what you call education; that is to say, you presume, that if they were but enough *enlightened*, they would clearly understand the justice and reasonableness of being thus treated. We will talk more of this, sir, by and by; but, did you ever propose to wait till the negroes were educated? Or did you think that they were better educated than the people of England now are? It was notorious that the negroes were in a state of profound ignorance. It was notorious, that they had no such thing as moral sentiment; it was notorious that, though susceptible of the vindictive feelings, with which you and your tribe endeavoured to fill their breasts, they were incapable of justly valuing the benefits which they derived from the care and protection of their masters. I speak here in a country where there is experience to serve as a guide; and, I have no hesitation in broadly asserting, that the freedom of the negroes here has been attended with much less benefit even to themselves than it has been attended with injury. The project which is now on foot in this country for *forming a colony of blacks* on the coast of Africa, though it would, I hope, be conducted with more justice and wisdom than your Sierra Leone project, is of itself a proof of the opinion which I offer. Yet, you set the nation half mad with horror at the idea of negro slavery, while, in the Isle of Sky there were, and still are, a set of British subjects as completely enslaved as any African that ever existed, and about which people you never said one word.

It has been the fashionable cant to speak of the French nation as *unfit*, in the present age, to enjoy a free government. This cant has not been confined to Europe; and Mr. JOHN ADAMS, formerly president of the United States, has recently caused to be published some letters written to him from M'KEAN, who was once a Governor, and (as I shall cause to be made known hereafter) once a *Chief Justice* of Pennsylvania, and who, I am very sorry to say, died in June last, and thus got out of the way

of the renewal of the conflict between him and me. In these letters, which Mr. ADAMS publishes in *honour* of M'KEAN's memory, is contained the sentiment before mentioned, with regard to the *unfitness* of the French nation to enjoy a free government. This was pretty impudent in M'KEAN, especially if we suppose him to have had any knowledge of the state of the arts and sciences in France. But, if the French nation were unfit to enjoy a free government, so, it seems, were Spain and Italy and Hanover, and, as to Genoa and Holland, they, poor people, appear now to be totally unfitted in this way, though, for many ages, they had been free and independent republics, previous to the memorable embassy of your worthy friend Lord CASTLEREAGH, in whose *mildness* and *humanity* you are so forward to declare your implicit confidence, and to whose tender mercies you have assisted to commit the people of England. All the world was unfit for a state of freedom, except your negroes, who, in consequence of the meddling of you and your tribe, have shed more blood, than has been shed, even in the sanguinary contest against the liberties of France.

You are one of those who talk about *law*, order, and things *as established by law*. And was not the property of West India planters established by law? The West India planters are, in their politics at home, amongst the basest of the base. But the curious thing is, that while you are representing them as the most cruel of tyrants to the blacks, they cordially co-operate with you in burdening and in enslaving the people of England. Their property was, surely, as sacred as the property of the borough-monger, from whom you hold your seat? You will hardly have the brass to contend, that the DUKE of RUTLAND or Lord CALTHORPE, who are peers of Parliament, have any *law* to show for putting you into that Parliament. You know well, on the contrary, that there are positive laws against their interfering, directly or indirectly, in any such matter. But the West India planters had *law* for what they did;

and yet you would have condemned them to all the sufferings to be expected from a revolution amongst their slaves, who, after all, were better fed and less hardly worked than the people of England. But, when this argument was used, it was the *mind*, you said; it was the *mind* of the slave, that suffered; it was the *consciousness of his being a slave*! This was the dreadful evil. Now, sir, I wish by no means to under-rate this suffering even in the mind of the grossly ignorant negro, who rises even in mental capacity, generally speaking not many degrees above that of numerous inferior animals. Even in this sort of being I am not disposed to under-rate the suffering arising from the consciousness of being a slave. But, while your feelings are so acute upon this subject, you appear to be dead as a stone to the feelings of the intelligent and ingenious people of England, which feelings are all alive in every relationship of life; whose friendship is so ardent, whose gratitude is so lasting, whose resentment is so open and so quick; and who, which is more than all the rest, have been accustomed from their very infancy to hear boasts of English freedom and security. Towards *them* you appear dead as a stone or a log. You appear to think that their rights are merely nominal; that *they* are *too ignorant* to understand them, and that they ought to be considered as the property of a few.

If you never have considered, it is time that you now should consider, what it is which constitutes the difference between a *free man* and a *slave*. It is simply this, that the free man, if he be in a state of civil society, *partakes in the making of the laws by which he is governed*; and, the slave is governed by the *will of another, or of others*. This accords, not only with reason, not only with the *sprit* of our constitution, and laws, but with the *law itself*, as laid down by all our eminent lawyers. I could quote many; but BLACKSTONE is quite enough, and he expressly says, that the punishment of a man, according to the laws of England, is *justifiable* ONLY because he is understood by the

law of the land *to have given his consent to the making of the laws by which he is tried and punished*. How many thousands of poor wretches have suffered death in England under laws to which they never gave their assent, never having been represented in the Parliament a jot more than your beloved negroes were! Another principle of our law is, that no man shall, in his defence, *plead an ignorance of the law*; because the law supposes every man to be *actually represented in Parliament*, and to become, *by that means, well acquainted with the laws, to which, by such representation, he has given his assent*. It is upon this ground, and this ground *only*, that Englishmen have ever called themselves *free*; and that the people of America now call themselves free. When a man who has been a slave in America becomes *free*, he becomes, also, *entitled to vote*, which slaves are not. I beg you to mark well this distinction; the man who is free to-day gives his assent to the laws which are passed henceforward, while the man who was his brother-slave but yesterday, is entitled to give no such assent. But there is another illustration afforded by this country, which brings the matter home at once. In the Southern States of America, negro slavery exists; as in Virginia, for instance. The number of Members of Congress, sent by each State, is proportioned *to the population* of the States respectively. But Virginia is allowed a greater number in proportion to her *free* population, than the State of Massachusetts, for instance, because it was thought just that Virginia should have an *allowance on account of her slaves*, who, though the property of other men, contributed by their labour and their consumption to the revenue and to the general wealth and power of the union! This is a pretty instance enough of that VIRTUAL representation, of which you and Mr. DAVIS GIDDY and your "Right Honourable Friend" CANNING and the rest of you talk. Here is *virtual representation* honestly explained; but (and let the people of England engrave the fact upon their hearts!) these negroes

of Virginia, who are thus VIRTUALLY represented, and only *are* slaves, but are honestly *called* slaves; and this latter, the mere *name*, is the only circumstance worth any man's noticing, which constitutes the political and civil difference between the negroes of Virginia and the mass of the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Therefore, as you found the people of England slaves, ought you not have begun at home, and not to have rambled to Jamaica and the African coast, especially as you found laws to sanction slavery in Jamaica, and laws holding in abhorrence slavery in England? In this country, as I said before, the *free man* is known by his title to vote at elections; and the slave is known by his having *no such title*. It is not the sort of dwelling which they severally inhabit; it is not the sort of clothing which they severally wear; it is not the sort or quantity of food or drink which they severally consume; for, in an infinite number of instances the black slave is better lodged, better clad, and better fed than the free man, be he black or white. It is none of these that form the distinctive marks between them; the only mark is, that *one gives his assent to the laws by which he is governed*, and the *other does not*; one is governed by his own consent, and the other is governed by the will of other men. What is it to the mass of the people of England, whether the men whose will they are compelled to submit to are called *slave-holders* or not? What is it to them by what names the persons are called, who have absolute power over their lives, who can take from them as much, and leave them as little, as they please; who can indulge them or punish them at their pleasure; who, at their absolute will, can suffer them to enjoy a part of their earnings, or, as they often do, send their collectors and take the beds of the miserable wretches from under them? *Names* are nothing, except for the uses of deception; and, sir, you may be well assured, whatever you may still think of the resources of your mind, that the days of successful hypocrisy are passed, and

passed, too, never to return; and that the nation if you were now to renew your beat of drum in the canting cause which gave you so much renown, would not afford you a single recruit.

To follow you in detail, from the beginning of the French revolution to last year, would be to write a history of that period; for in every act, committed by the government of England against the liberties of the people at home, and against the liberty, peace, and happiness, of people struggling for their liberties in foreign countries, you have taken a prominent part. During a debate last year, you stated that you verily believed, that there were some persons that thought *you ought to be hanged*, an opinion of yours of which I am by no means inclined to question the sincerity; and with regard to the opinions of those persons, to whom you alluded, I shall leave it, as you very judiciously did, to be determined by those who have been attentive observers of your conduct; but this I will say, because I truly can say it, that, *if* to have been an associate of Mr. HORNE TOOKE in the cause of parliamentary reform, and, afterwards, to have supported PITT in all his dreadful measures against the reformers in the early part of the French Revolution, and even while he was aiming a blow at the life of that very Mr. TOOKE for no other offence, as was proved at the trial and declared by the judge, than that of *seeking a reform*; *if*, to have been one of the chief supporters of a war against the French people, and of the pursuing of that war for the restoration of the Bourbons, of the Pope, of the Inquisition, while you were not only professing a religion, but writing in support of a religion, which deemed the Romish religion idolatrous and damnable; *if*, to have called the termination of that war *glorious*, which termination not only necessarily restored these abominations, but, the instant effect of which was the horrid murders committed by the friends of your favourite Bourbons on the Protestants of France; *if*, to have been prime agent, and one of the Secret Committee, concerned in glossing over that scan-

dalous act, which authorised the Bank of England to set at nought the law, to break its engagements with the people, and to do that which has finally brought misery upon millions; *if*, to have been a leading supporter of PITT in all his tyrannical measures from 1793 to 1801, and, at the end of that time to vote him *impunity* for his deeds; *if*, to have voted him impunity afterwards, when he was accidentally deceived in having grossly misapplied the public money; *if*, to have been forward to support PERCEVAL in his quarrel with the American States, and to have supported his successors in the origin and prosecution of the war which succeeded that quarrel, a war so notoriously injurious to the honour of England, and which added fifty millions to her debt; *if*, to have acted thus, in substance, and to have had the most consummate piety in your looks, and the profoundest reverence for morality and religion on your lips all the while; *if*, never to have taken part with any oppressed person or description of persons during a thirty years' sitting in Parliament; *if*, to have been uninformed, if not the open defender, the open apologist, or at the least, the feeble assailant and the break-water of every public robber or public delinquent, however great and however flagrant; *if*, to have thus acted, during so long a course of years; and having, at the same time, great talents bestowed on you by your Maker: *if*, to have thus acted, being thus gifted, be likely to secure for you the salutation which the Scriptures tell us the *righteous* are to receive at the last day; all that I have to add, is, that I have the happiness never to have known any one individual, who is likely to receive, on that day, the salutation intended for the wicked.

But, if such would have been your account, at the day of final settlement, supposing you to have closed your career before the commencement of the last session of Parliament, what a large addition you have now made to the score! You are well aware, that when you gave your sanction, the first time, to the absolute power-of-imprisonment

act, you did all that you were able to do in order to place the people under a complete despotism; but upon that occasion, you were *silent*, a least. Now, however, at the passing of the act for continuing the despotism, you come forth with your personal support. It was in this way that you most essentially served Pitt, who kept your piety in reserve for trying circumstances. Then when a desperate push was necessary, out you used to come with all your *candour*, all your doubts, all your scruples of conscience, all your tender compassion for the object against whom your real enmity was directed, and, as the result, your blessed conscience *compelled* you, *against your natural feelings*, to give your voice for acts of oppression and cruelty until then unheard of. You were Pitt's grand corps de reserve; and in numerous instances you decided the struggle, and always you decided against freedom and against justice. But this is not the case now. Whatever you or whatever your friend Castlereagh may think, you have no weight and are worth nothing beyond the counting of your own nose. You were then the member for *Yorkshire*; and you often used to boast in no very indirect manner, of speaking the voice of a considerable part of the kingdom. Upon one occasion, I remember, you said it was *a little kingdom in itself*. So it is; but you are no longer the king of that little kingdom. Indeed, if the county of York; if even the freeholders of that county could ever have been fairly brought to the poll, neither you nor any colleague that you ever had, nor your successor, would ever have been chosen for that county. It was an affair of money; and when two great families had taken care to well line their purses for the contest, they squeezed you out, as a large punch drives out a little nail. BURKE, in remonstrating once with Lord FITZWILLIAM upon the subject of suffering you to be elected for *Yorkshire*, exclaimed, "A man like Mr. WILBERFORCE! Why, sir, I would thrust him through that keyhole!" And this was what they really did at last. One would have thought

that he who had reigned in this little kingdom so long, would never have taken up with the office of representative of a rotten borough. But, SWIFT has observed of a fly, that, "being driven from its food on a bed of roses, it will very placidly skim away and finish its repast upon an excrement."

In PITT's time you did, as you do now, occasionally differ in opinion with your "Right Honourable Friends." Your candour and your conscientiousness were such, that you would sometimes even go so far, *though it gave you great pain*, to acknowledge that your Right Honourable Friend was in the wrong, *and even to vote against him*; but this was never upon essential points; never upon any point where the liberties of the people, or their main interests, were at stake. This appearance of candour and of impartiality gave also an appearance of *independence*, and tended greatly to make you the more mischievous whenever the boroughmongers and the minister stood in need of your support; just as Mr. PERRY is an infinitely more mischievous tool of corruption than either STEWART or WALTON. The former of these three is in opposition to the Ministers. He is in direct opposition. In deadly opposition. But he is not less opposed to the reformers than they are. He maintains the boroughmongering system, and the Ministers would no more touch a hair of his head than a mole-catcher would catch a mole in breeding time. There were several of the "gentlemen opposite" in that very Secret Committee which forged this last set of chains for Englishmen's hands and feet. There was your successor, Lord Milton, in that committee; he who talks so many hours about the two hundred and fifty thousand of extra pay to Mr. CROKER, but who says not one word of the thirty thousand pounds swallowed up by CROKER, nor of that monstrous act of iniquity of paying out of the public money to the executors of Burke (whose names I should be very glad to know) *five lives*, all selected by Burke for himself, and amongst young persons at that time! As far as relates to these

things, my Lord Milton is no "gentleman, opposite," but a gentleman going heartily and cordially with the Ministers, to whom he gives a great deal more support in all their tyrannical acts, than he possibly could do if he were sitting upon the bench along with them. However, with regard to you, the mischief is now confined wholly to your vote. All the little affectations of occasional disagreements with your "Right Honourable Friends," and every other little shift and turn, appear like the rubbish of a once stately mansion. PITT stood in need of your friendship, CASTLEREAGH looks upon you as a servant. With Pitt you were the grand *corps de reserve*; and, to keep up the figure in French, with Castlereagh you are the *pis-aller*, or, what we in English call the *worst come to the worst*.

I can hardly believe that so cunning a man as you are, can have failed to perceive the truth of all this; but, the fact is, that you are safely seated below the reach of unpopularity, which cannot affect you any more than it can affect any of the footmen or grooms of the Duke of RUTLAND or of Lord CALTHORPE. Had not this been the case, you never would have persevered in hostility to the people, even after such a man as Lord FITZWILLIAM had given way. Slight as the right of voting now is in Yorkshire, dreadful as the conflict must be in a pecuniary sense, to measure purse with the present members of that county; still the Fitzwilliams seem to have had some misgivings upon the subject; and I trust that, if ever another election should take place, under the present system, that the freeholders of Yorkshire will have spirit enough to show, that they clearly see the cause of those misgivings. And they will see in Mr. FAWCER a gentleman who has most nobly maintained their rights, instead of forging a gag for their mouths, and twisting a halter for their necks. What! the noble Lord MILTON! he who said, that he *longed for an opportunity of coming to close quarters with the reformers*! And, he, who, the moment those reformers approached him with a statement of

their case, to which he was unable to find any answer, cried aloud against sedition and blasphemy, and called for licensing, gagging and hanging bills! Now, however, at the renewal of the absolute-power-of-imprisonment bill, he discovers that the Ministers are not to be trusted with it, and one of his reasons is, that Lord Sidmouth had encouraged the establishment of the Knights Brunswickers at Norwich, who condemned the principles of Hampden! Just as if Lord Milton were a supporter of the principles of Hampden, and just as if the whole of this affair about the Knights Brunswickers had not been exposed by me in *January last*, with a thousand times more effect than the noble Lord Milton would be able to do it if he were to spend his whole life in the attempt, and if he were to live to the age of METHUSALEM! Oh, no! it was no discovery of this sort that produced a change in the Fitzwilliams. It was a discovery, that the Bourbon system was not likely to succeed in the end. It was a discovery that there was yet a great deal to be done, or, that the whole system must be undone. It was a discovery that the "weekly venom," as Mr. WM. ELLIOTT had the impudence to call it, had had too deep an effect to be purged off by one, two, or ten years of despotism. It was a discovery communicated to them in the pithy words of "NOT GUILTY," pronounced at Guildhall, and echoed back from Westminster Hall. These were the kind of discoveries, that led the Fitzwilliams to see less danger in June than they had seen in February; and, it is the same sort of discoveries which will, I hope, finally make you perceive, that the people of England, if they have lost their liberties, for a while, have not lost their memories. You, as I observed before, want the ground for some of those feelings, which ground the Fitzwilliams and their like have; but still there was something so singular, so unnecessarily odious, in the chief reason which you gave for supporting the renewal of the absolute-power-of-imprisonment bill, that it is hardly possible to impute it to any thing but one cause, and the impu-

tation which every one will know how to make, puts you upon a perfect level with any, even the very lowest hangers on of the Ministry, or occupiers of borough seats. Many were the reasons, some impudent, some foolish, some cunning, which other people gave, but your reason simply was, on the second reading of the bill, that you "had *unlimited confidence* in your right honourable friends "on the treasury bench." Confidence! What do you mean by confidence, in this case? And if your confidence in the Ministers is sufficient to induce you to place the person of every man in the kingdom at their absolute will, why not place in their hands also the absolute power of raising and expending the public money? Is money more dear to the people than their personal liberty and their lives? Your confidence in the just, in the humane, in the merciful disposition of Castlereagh, might lead you to place the administration of the laws, the trial and condemnation of criminals, in his hands, and it might even go so far as to dispense with the use of juries in a case where the judge was so notoriously void of a sanguinary disposition, and, if possible, still more notoriously clear of all corruption. To be sure, your long public experience of the qualities of that gentlemen and of those of his worthy associate, whom even the tin-man of Plymouth could not corrupt, and of whose *sincerity* there is no human being that knows him who makes a matter of doubt. Your long experience of the qualities of these excellent persons and your hearty co-operation with them in all the most important concerns of their lives, must naturally have given you a very lofty idea of their trustworthiness; but, however worthy they may be in this respect, however famed for their fair dealing, for their adherence to truth, for their scorn to torture the laws, for the independence of their minds, for their disregard of self, for their purity as to seats and seat-selling, for the disinterested carelessness which they have shown about the occupation of office except upon the most honourable terms; and, above all, for their tenderness, their more than fe-

minine tenderness of the lives of the people, and their abhorrence to see the bayonet or the hangman employed, or the scourge of torture inflicted; however famed your two noble friends may be in this respect, still, let me tell you, that I, for one, shall very long remember that your confidence in them was such that you had no scruple to place the very bodies of all our countrymen at their mercy, except, indeed, yourself and the rest of the persons who fill the seats in Parliament.

And, at what time did you think proper to express this confidence in them, and to act up to that expression? At a time when the victims, which they had brought to the bar of trial, and there pursued unto death by the evidence of a false witness; a base, corrupt dealer in human blood, who had organized the thing which they called an insurrection; who had himself put the powder and ball into the wagon, there to be found by police officers; who had met Mr. Hunt in Cheapside, told him the Tower was in their possession, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to go back and join them, and whose first and great, if not whose only object, was, to secure the means of shedding the blood of that gentleman; it was at a time when those victims had just, through the means of very able and faithful counsel, and a jury of Englishmen, who yet, thank God, feel horror at the idea of shedding innocent blood; it was just at the time when these victims had just been snatched from the fate of the brave CASHMAN, that you chose, in the face of the whole nation, to declare that you voted for this bill on the score of your confidence in the purity and in the merciful disposition of your "right honourable friends," the employers of OLIVER and the promoters of REYNOLDS!

Upon the third reading of the bill, Sir Francis Burdett produced *proof* of this merciful disposition, and he took that occasion to appeal to your religion against the support which you had given to the bill, and what was your answer to this? A very feeble attempt to report the sarcasms which he had levelled

against you with so much truth, and therefore with so much effect. You said upon this occasion, "that it was with the most *painful reluctance*" (just in the old style!) "that you had brought yourself to consent to the measure which, in this serious situation of the country, did appear indispensable to counteract the infusion of that malignant poison, which had already gone far to sap the vitals of the public safety." You then say that the feelings of Englishmen are so corrupted, that they look without blushing at acts which are repulsive to human nature; that even *private assassinations seem to have grown familiar to the people*. You do not produce any *proof* of this; but you believe it, do you, and upon what *ground* do you believe it? Why, upon the *report of the Secret Committees*, without appearing to recollect that Mr. CLEARY in his petition flatly accused the first reports of falsehood; that Mr. HUNT did the same; and that both rested for credit, not upon their bare assertions, like the committees, but upon *proof*, by oral testimony, which they prayed for leave to produce at the bars, and which prayer was refused in both Houses! You appear to have forgotten all this, and to have forgotten, also, that there was *no evidence*, in either case, produced to the House. The fact might be otherwise. I do not know to what design of desperation the oppressed and insulted people of England may not have been goaded. The fact, I was about to continue, might have been otherwise; but who will believe that the evidence, upon which the last reports were grounded, was not supplied by CASTLES, by OLIVER, and by others of that numerous herd of venders of human blood, who are now, at the expense of the people of England, sent prowling through the country to find out persons, first to seduce and then to betray! I am fully convinced, that evidence of the import stated by you, was never supplied by any body else. But no suspicion of this sort seems to have entered your mind. Not a word escapes your religious lips in reprobation of these wretches, these venders

of innocent English blood. Your tenderness of the blood of human beings seems to have been confined to the African race, and with regard to that, too, those will be the best judges of the sincerity of your professions, who shall have read the statements of Mr. THORPE, the late judge at Sierra Leone, and who shall be informed, as I now informed them, that *a reporter of the TIMES newspaper was made judge of that place, and actually supplanted Mr. Thorpe!*

This is taking you, as the Westcountrymen call it, *back stroke and fore stroke*. But, it is all capable of being exposed as falsehood, whether in fact or in argument, if it be not founded in truth.

Suppose, however, for argument's sake, that any portion of the people had been *seduced*, so far as to reconcile their minds to acts repulsive to human nature, and even to those of private assassination! If this be the case, *who has been their seducer?* Was it I, against whose writings the measures were originally levelled? Had I instigated them to acts of violence of any sort? Hypocrisy personified could not pretend, that there was any other "*cheap publication*" which haunted the minds of the boroughmongers, or which had made the smallest impression upon the minds of the people. What other cheap publication did Lord Sidmouth mean, when he called for gagging and imprisonment bills, to protect what he called the constitution against the effect of cheap publications, which, he said, had found their way into every hamlet and into every cottage in the kingdom? There was no other, and you know well that no other existed, and that no other was meant. It was my mind that had engrafted itself upon the minds of the people. I had reasoned with them, till they thought as I thought, and said as I said, and, as the renegado SOUTHEY, declared, they read my publication by day and thought on it by night. He added, that they lived by it, and were ready to die by it. This, therefore, and this alone, was meant by the "*cheap publications*." This was what was af-

terwards meant in the circular of your "*Noble Friend*," Sidmouth. You have all the numbers of this cheap publication at command; and if you find in them one single instance of a recommendation to violence of any sort, but on the contrary, if you do not find the whole tenor of them is to prevent violence of every sort, and to rest our hopes of obtaining justice on the justice of our cause and on a peaceable and orderly deportment, then I will forfeit the name of *William Cobbett*, and will silently suffer myself to be called *William Wilberforce* to the end of my life.

If, therefore, it be true, which I do not believe, that any portion of the people have been brought to entertain such desperate designs, those designs have not proceeded from the "*cheap publications*;" but, from that deep sense of injustice, of cruelty and of insult, which their treatment has naturally engendered. I repeat, that I do not believe the fact; that I do not only hope that it is not true, but that I believe that it is not true. As I most firmly believe, that the most black-hearted miscreants that ever existed hatched the affair of Spafelds principally with a view of getting at the blood of Mr. HUNT; as I believe that it was they, and they only, who hatched and caused to be executed, the attack on the Prince Regent in the Park; so I most firmly believe, that they have caused to be *fabricated* all the *evidence* which was laid before the committee; and, that this charge of yours against the people rests solely on such false and diabolical testimony. If this were not so; if this charge rested upon any thing else, why are not the parties brought to *trial*? If any thing but the testimony of hired spies could be produced, why not put the guilty, or the accused on their *trial*? Is a *dungeon*, at the will of Castlereagh and his worthy colleague, the proper punishment for projects of assassination? A *trial*! Why not a *trial*? Because a trial would prove the innocence of the accused people, and would, as in the case of Castles, fix the guilt on the really guilty heads. And *why*, as Mr. BENNET pertinently asked,

is not OLIVER brought to *trial*? There are witnesses, in abundance, whom a jury *would believe*, to prove, that he instigated people to *unlawful acts*. The Ministers deny, that *they authorised him* to go so far as this. Well, then, he was guilty of a crime even in their eyes. *Why, why, why* not put him upon his *trial* then? Has Mr. SHEPHERD lost his capacity for drawing up indictments; can he, the great discoverer of laws, not find out a little law to suit OLIVER? Or, do Becket, the Addingtons, and Castle-reagh, recollect, that it would be as fair for OLIVER as it was for the honourable gentleman, Mr. CASTLES, to save his neck by turning evidence against his *accomplices*? The time for his doing this may *yet come*; and, upon your religion I put it to you, whether his testimony ought not to go as far towards hanging his accomplices *in town* as towards hanging his accomplices in the *country*?

But if, after all, it should be the fact, that some few of the people have entertained intentions to avenge themselves and their country by resorting to the killing of those who have been the immediate cause of their present slavery; in the first place, I say, that I am sorry for it; that I disapprove of such designs; and that I am confident, that the country will recover its freedom without resorting to such desperate means. But, sir, is there no danger to be apprehended from the *just* vengeance of an oppressed and insulted people? And, is there not a *point*, beyond which *not to resist* oppression would be a crime? You know well, that resistance of oppression is not only a *natural* right of man, but that it is a *legal* right in England, and that it is *solely* in virtue of that right, that the present family hold the throne. You know, that to *deny* the right of resistance of oppression is a *crime*, and a crime which has been frequently punished in England. Well, then, in what manner is an unarmed people to resist? I do not say, mind, that the *point* of resistance is arrived. But, your argument goes against the principle of a right to kill tyrants under any circumstances; and this, I say, is

false whether we refer to our own practice, our own laws, or to history, profane or divine.

We know well, that the right to resist oppression is agreeably to practice and the law of our country, and, as to the *manner*, it consisted in 1688, in secret contrivances, in secret correspondences, in the sending of delegates, and, finally, in open force against the Government, and in the inviting over and employing foreign soldiers, who, of course, if it had been necessary, would have killed the king and all those who adhered to him. These were the several sorts of resistance employed in the placing of the present family on the throne, and very justly employed too. You know well that many persons, after the revolution, were punished by law for denying the existence of the right of resistance, and for promulgating those very doctrines of "*legitimacy*," which are now endeavoured to be foisted upon us. But was not Mr. REEVES prosecuted? Yes, and the House of Commons voted the prosecution; and what did you do upon that occasion? Why, you spoke *for* the prosecution; and, upon this very ground, that Mr. REEVES had called in question the *right of resistance*, exercised at the "*Glorious Revolution*." The charge against Mr. REEVES in that case, was false; but such was the charge.

Thus, then, it is clear, that it was *justifiable* and *legal* to do, against King James, all those acts, which, if no oppression had existed, would have been *treasonable*. There were secret conspirations against his authority; there was *open war* against him; and, if he had resisted, to the last, he would, to a certainty, have been *killed*.

As to history, who has ever called the eldest BRUTUS, or WILLIAM TELL, an *assassin*? Who ever names them but with reverence? Yet, there may be sins against a people equal to, and even surpassing, the ravishing of a man's sister, or the ordering of a man to kill his own son. HUME, after a description of the cruel acts of Henry the Eighth, exclaims: "and yet there was no hand found to carry a dagger to the heart of

"the tyrant!" He also blames the people for standing *sobbing* at the execution of RUSSELL, when they had it in their power to rescue him and to destroy his murderers. If the gallant SIDNEY could have been saved by the killing of the corrupt and bloody judge, that, too, according to your course of arguing, would have made a *crime*! Better to let the innocent perish on the gallows, or the scaffold, and to reverse the *judgments afterwards*? Is this what you mean? Or, as you did in the case of Pitt, would you still prefer bills of indemnity for all violations of the law against the people?

And, what says the BIBLE upon the subject of what you are pleased to call *assassination*? One great branch of your reputation consists in your endeavours to cause this book to be circulated. It is notorious, that the circulation of it has been attempted in all sorts of ways. It is notorious that circulars have been sent round even to servant men and maids to enter into penny subscriptions for the purpose of aiding in this cause. It is notorious, that the people have been told to rely upon the Bible almost for food and raiment. I wish the Bible could be read, and would be *read*, really *read*, and not merely *looked at*, by every one; but I detest the *means*, as well as the *real views*, of a vast majority of those, who are engaged in the work of circulation. However, you appeal to the Bible, and so do I. Let us take only three instances, beginning with the slaying of the Egyptian. I might, perhaps, settle the point at once, by appealing to those very able casuists, Messrs. *Wickham*, *Drake*, and *Spencer Smith*, or to Mr. *Mahee de la Touche*. But having the Scriptures for our guide, let us appeal to them, and let us see whether the killing of a tyrant be there considered as assassination. PHARAOH, the King of Egypt, had, by very base and detestable means, got the Israelites in a state of bondage; that is to say, they were permitted to *live*, to eat and drink enough to keep them alive, and they lived very well, for any thing that we hear to the contrary; but they were permitted to have *no share in making the*

laws by which they were to be governed, and by which they were occasionally punished with death; and they were compelled to work very hard while a great part of their earnings was doubtless taken from them, though I can hardly believe that the part taken away by their task-masters, amounted to *the one-half*. Nevertheless, they increased in numbers, and Paraoth's Ministers and political economists, not having had the advantage of Mr. MALTHUS's book, by which they would have been taught how to check the increase of population by the means of compulsory celibacy, and by the depriving of parents of the means of feeding their children; not having this advantage, the boroughmongers of Egypt fell upon the scheme of corrupting and bribing the midwives of the Israelites, to induce them to kill, either by pinching the windpipe, or by some other means, all the Jewish *male* children at the moment of their birth. Generally speaking, the midwives had more conscience than the Egyptian boroughmongers. They were not ready tools, like OLIVER and CASTLES and SOUTHEY and GIFFORD and STEWART and WALTER, all of which, each in his different vocation, need but a nod or a wink. The midwives saved a good many of the male children, who were brought up secretly. Among others of this description, was MOSES, whose mother hid him in the bull-rushes, by the side of the water, where he was found by Paraoth's daughter, when she was going with her damsels to bathe. She was so stricken with the beauty of the child, and the very situation in which she found him, together with a reflection on the cause, formed so strong an appeal to her heart, that she resolved, at all risks, to save him from the fangs of the bloody-minded boroughmongers: and, indeed, the whole story is so well calculated to interest the feelings and to make a lasting impression on the memory, that I recollect it from the time that I began to read, and I now relate it merely from that recollection, not happening to have a Bible at hand. MOSES, thus saved and thus cherished by the King's own daughter, grew up to manhood, and, as

It afterwards appeared, he became distinguished for his bodily as well as his mental powers. One day he saw an Egyptian, some underling, doubtless, of the task-masters or boroughmongers, *strike one of his countrymen*. All the injuries suffered by his nation, all their wrongs, all the insults they had so long endured, rushing upon his mind at once, he seized the insolent instrument of tyranny, killed him upon the spot, and buried him in the sand. As I said before, I relate from mere memory; but such are substantially the facts; and do you say, sir, that Moses was an assassin? Do you say, that Moses, the servant of the Lord, and really the greatest of all the men of whom we read, of antiquity, do you say that he was an assassin? But you have put the word *private*; you tell us that the committee tells you that even *private* assassination *seems* to have grown familiar to the minds of the people. And what more private can any one attempt than Moses attempted? Having killed the tyrant, the tool of tyranny, he looked round all about him to see if he was observed by any of the tyrants or their underlings; and perceiving that he was not observed, he dug a hole, and buried the caitiff in the sand. Oh! how I felt for him, in reading the account when I was a little boy! How afraid I was, that some of the tyrants would see him! And how glad I was when I found that he was safe! These were the impressions, which the reading of this part of the Bible made upon me; and, if it make the same impressions on the minds of all the English boys who shall read it, your present doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance will make proselytes in exactly an inverse proportion to the extent of the circulation of the Bible.

The word *assassination*, like that of blasphemy, has recently received such a latitude of interpretation; it has been, for the base purposes of the boroughmongers made to apply so extensively, to attacks by open day as well as by nights, and to all sorts of attacks, that one hardly knows, whether you would call the tossing of a woman out of a win-

dow, and knocking her in the head, an assassination. But, it is a killing at any rate; and, you well know, that JEHU, the Captain of the Guard of the Dowager Queen Jezebel's son, after having killed his master, the King, in his very palace-garden, ordered her Majesty to be flung headlong from her own window into the street, or public square; and (let some people's knees knock together while they read!) her crime was, having *hired false witnesses* to take away an innocent man's life, and that, too, be it remembered well, upon a charge of blasphemy! "And on the walls of Jezreel, did dogs lick the blood of Jezebel!" With what satisfaction did I, when a little boy, see the dogs licking up her blood, and am I not now most anxiously to hope, that the horrid fate of this hypocritical and cruel woman, may await every one who shall employ false witnesses, and who shall knowingly falsely prefer the charge of blasphemy. Now, sir, will you accuse JEHU of being an assassin? Will you say that he acted basely? Will you say that he was a criminal; and will you add, that he ought to have been brought to the gallows by an Oliver or a Castles?

The act of JAEL is so complete, in all its parts, that it leaves nothing wanting. The tyrant whom she slew, was no longer in a situation to commit acts of tyranny. He was a fallen tyrant. He was fleeing to save his life; he was exhausted with fatigue; he came fainting to her door. She received him with feigned salutations of welcome; she gave him whereof to drink, to lessen the rage of his thirst, she invited him to lie down to repose in her tent, and having lulled him to sleep, she took a nail, drove it through his temples, and pinned him down dead to the ground. Whether you will call this assassination or not, it is not for me to say; but this I know, that the Bible tells us, that, "Then sang DEBORAH and BARAK: *"blessed amongst women be Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite!"* And then the story goes on to state, that she was so to be blessed, on account of this very act, and of this act alone. Will

you say, then, that Jael ought not to have been blessed? Will you say, that she ought to have been cursed instead of being blessed; and that she ought to have been; at least, crammed into a dungeon, upon the bare suspicion of her having entertained a thought to commit such an act? I must confess, that I felt, when I was a child, a good deal of horror at this deed. I did not like the previous blandishments, and the breach of hospitality. Beside, I saw in poor SISERA a beaten and fleeing tyrant. I forgot his tyranny in contemplating his deep distress, his fatigued body, his burning thirst, and his half-broken heart. But, I was wrong in yielding to these sentiments, perhaps. Lord LIVERPOOL said, when they were bringing forward the absolute-power-of-imprisonment act, that they *were resolved to pursue the STERN path of duty*; and, when we consider the numerous ills which tyrants bring upon mankind; when we consider the hunger, the thirst, the diseases, of which they are the cause; when we consider the sleepless nights which they occasion to anxious parents, the rivers of innocent blood which they shed, and the innumerable honest hearts which they break; when we consider the baseness of their acts, the cruelties of their open force; when we consider the hypocrisy of their professions and the bloody-mindedness of their actions, we want no apology for the conduct of Jael; we, on the contrary, applaud the sternness of her resentment and public-spirit, and we join in the song of Deborah and Barak.

Thus have I, as far as relates to your public conduct, endeavoured to perform my duty to my country, and I have only to add, that I am, sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT-CORN.

In the last *Register*, I spoke of the *small corn*, which ripens earlier than the *large*, and which I notified that I should have to sell in bunches, of six ears in a

bunch, for a shilling a bunch. I observed on the enormousness of the price; but I said, at the same time, that there were numerous persons in the country who would be glad to sell it much cheaper; that I should not only be quite willing that other people should purchase of theirs, but I would advertise it for them, if they would send me their names and places of abode. Since I wrote that *Register*, I have seen a person who has a crop of this corn growing. It is Mr. THOMAS POYNTER, market-gardener, NORTH-END, FULHAM, who has, in my opinion, the greatest crop of corn, or I will call it *flour*, rod for rod, that ever was grown in the world. He has about ten rod in one piece, the plants standing in rows at two feet apart, and at about a foot apart in the row. He has about sixty-eight or seventy pounds weight of corn upon a rod; and that will make about fifty-six pounds of *fine flour*. Thus he has upon ten rods five hundred and sixty pounds of fine flour, which, in the keeping of any family, is worth more than the same weight of the finest *wheat flour*. Here are upon this ten rod, rather more than a pound and a half of flour a day for the whole year, Sundays and all. A pound and a half of flour, with about half a pound of suet, and a proper quantity of water, will make a good thumping pudding, more than half a dinner for a working man, his wife, and two or three children. And this any working man who has ten rods of clear ground in his garden may have, if he will, without any money laid out, and with the labour which he may perform in about nine or ten evenings after his daily work is done; or he may do the work in about three or four Sunday mornings before church; and I am Doctor of Divinity enough to assure him that this would be a much more godly work, than bawling out hymns at a canting Methodist meeting, or guzzling down half-poison at a public-house, leaving wife in rags, and children half-starved.

The reader will be pleased to observe, that the rod is the statute rod, sixteen feet and a half each way. Upon this

same piece of ground, Mr. POYNTER might have grown twenty bushels of the accursed potatoes, which would have contained only about double the amount of weight that is contained in the fine flour of the corn, leaving out the offal of the corn. And here must have been the eternal pot-boiling. In short, one bushel of corn is worth twenty bushels of potatoes.

Mr. POYNTER *transplanted* this corn. It is dead ripe now, and has been for some little while; and I have advised him to let it stand another month, if he can; in order that gentlemen who delight in agriculture may go and see it; and I do hope, that gentlemen from the country who come to London, during the month, will go and see this corn. The way to Mr. POYNTER'S house from LONDON is through OLD BROMPTON; straight on to where that road is crossed by the road going from WALHAM GREEN to HAMMERSMITH turnpike-gate. Anybody will tell gentlemen where Mr. THOMAS POYNTER lives. The questions to be put are, "Where is *North End*?" The next question is, "Where does Mr. THOMAS POYNTER live?" Mr. POYNTER got this seed from Mr. WILLIAM COBBETT about three years ago. He planted it on a very small scale. I do strongly commend gentlemen to go and see his crop. They will find great readiness to show it them; and, if Mr. POYNTER will sell his corn for something less than *twopence an ear*, which is my price for the same sort of corn, and, indeed, for both my sorts, I advise them to purchase of Mr. POYNTER: and I can assure them that my pigs and horses will prefer their purchasing of him.

The reader will observe, that there are a hundred and sixty rods to an acre; that here are four tons of fine flour from an acre of land, about six times the produce of the finest wheat. The wheat stands a whole year upon the land: Mr. POYNTER'S corn will stand four months. He will dig up the ground and plant it with cabbages. A crop of cabbages will come off in May, and then he may have another crop of corn, and this he may do, if he like, to

the end of his life. Ah! but this is in a garden! Ah! but mine is in the field! I have no corn quite so good as that of Mr. POYNTER. But, why I have it not as good is, that I have not yet had time to get a field into the state of a garden. But, labouring men have gardens, have not they, if it must be a garden? And, therefore, this objection does not hold with them. The only solid objection that I have heard on the part of the farmer is, that the landlords, understanding arithmetic as well as they, both having had "*headekashun*;" and, seeing the value of the crops, will raise the rents. In answer to this objection, I must confess I have nothing to say.

Since writing the above, I have seen some of my large sort of corn in a shop for sale. I went in and asked the price of it, and was told that the price was *sixpence for each ear*. So that, after all, my price is exceedingly moderate. An acre of corn at my price, would sell for only about four hundred pounds; but at this price it would sell for twelve hundred pounds! I do not, by any means, say that these shopkeepers sell it too dear. I have seen it for sale in twenty shops, but never made an inquiry before. It will soon be all over the country: the farmers will cultivate it at last; they must do it.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THE Tenth Number of this work is just published. It contains the account of BUONAPARTE'S return from ELBA to France, of his defeat at WATERLOO, and of his final fall; but it also contains an account of the true *causes of his return*; of the motives for bringing him back; and of the hitherto hidden conduct of the English Government upon that occasion. We are paying dearly for that conduct at this hour. Young men, who were scarcely born at that time, are paying for it, and most dearly paying for it out of their labour; and it is right that they should know all about the matter; and all about the

matter they will know by the reading of this history.

N. B. The numbers will be now regularly continued monthly; and gentlemen may have back numbers in order to complete their sets.

TO MR. BENETT,

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR
SOUTH WILTSHIRE.

Bolt-court, 23. Oct. 1833.

SIR,—I read, in a Wiltshire newspaper, the following article, relative to the TULLIAN SYSTEM OF HUSBANDRY; and I have a word or two to say to you on the subject. First, look at the words imputed to yourself.

“ Mr. BENETT proposed the health
“ of Mr. A. E. Saunders—a gentleman
“ who was the first promoter of the
“ Market Lavington Society, and which
“ was the foundation of the present so-
“ ciety. Mr. Benett said, he should also
“ feel much obliged, if Mr. Saunders
“ would favour the company with some
“ account of the *new system of husbandry*
“ practised at Market Lavington.

“ The toast having received every
“ demonstration of respect, Mr. SAUN-
“ DERS, after expressing his acknow-
“ ledgments, said he would readily
“ meet Mr. Benett’s wishes, and give a
“ short account of the Tullain system
“ as tried by Mr. Richard Box, at La-
“ vington:—In the year 1824, Mr. Box
“ sowed an acre of wheat on the prin-
“ ciple laid down by the late Mr. Tull,
“ on land of a middling quality. This
“ acre in 1825, produced 8 sacks; in
“ 1826, 8 sacks; in 1827, 7 sacks 2
“ bushels; in 1828, 4 sacks 1½ bushel;
“ in 1829, 5 sacks; in 1830, 7 sacks 2
“ bushels; in 1831, 6 sacks 2½ bushels;
“ and in 1832, 7 sacks 1 bushel; mak-
“ ing in the whole 54 sacks 1 bushel, or
“ on the average of years, 6 sacks and a
“ trifle more than three bushels. Mr.
“ Box had also several other crops of
“ wheat on the same principle, which
“ has averaged as much as on the narrow-
“ drill system. Last year his barley
“ averaged 4 quarters 6 bushels per

“ acre, and his oats 6 quarters per acre;
“ Mr. Saunders here produced a sample
“ of Mr. Box’s eighth year’s wheat;
“ which looked remarkably fine; and
“ also observed, that he had two pieces
“ of wheat this year, sown on land of ex-
“ tremely bad condition, the produce of
“ which was likely to be seven or eight
“ sacks per acre. Mr. Saunders said,
“ that he had closely watched Mr.
“ Box’s acre, which was producing the
“ *ninth crop without dung*. The land
“ was very poor, and certainly not ex-
“ traordinarily well attended to; but so
“ satisfied was he (Mr. Saunders) of the
“ advantages of the system, that he
“ commenced at Michaelmas sowing
“ eight acres of wheat and six acres of
“ barley, all without dung; two acres
“ of the wheat was very fine: and the
“ barley sown on the best part of the
“ land, remarkably good. He deter-
“ mined at present not to use any dung
“ on the good land, but a small portion
“ on the poorest. It had been observed
“ by ancient philosophers that he who
“ made two blades of grass grow where
“ only one grew before was entitled to
“ the best thanks of the country. As a
“ society, then, he expressed a hope
“ that they would endeavour to deserve
“ those thanks. Mr. Saunders was
“ very warmly applauded for his ob-
“ servations.

“ Mr. BENETT said that Mr. Tull had
“ tried the experiment a great many
“ years ago, but prejudice was then so
“ strong against him, that the system
“ was not acted upon. A great deal,
“ however, had been done within the last
“ few years to conquer strong prejudices;
“ and he trusted now that Mr. Tull’s
“ system would have a fair trial. It
“ was well known that it was to pub-
“ verize the earth, and to expose it to
“ the atmospheric air. He himself should
“ give it a trial.”

Now, sir, why could you not have
just mentioned *my name*? You say
“ that a great deal has been done with-
in these few years;” but you could not
find in your heart to say *who had done*
it! You could not find in your heart
to say, that it must have been my pub-
lications that have produced this Tullian

MAN husbandry in Wiltshire. You could not just tell your audience, that a member of Parliament, of the name of WILLIAM COBBETT, revised Mr. TULL's book, and republished it in 1821; and that he has recently republished a new edition of it; that, in this new edition, he has published an introduction, giving a full account as to his own experiments, explaining the whole matter; you could not find in your heart to say this, or any part of it, though you must have known it well. You could not just say, "We owe all this to my 'honourable friend,' Mr. COBBETT." There were some things that you could not know, and that I will now tell my readers; namely, that, when I fled to America from the dungeons of CASTLE-REGH and SIDMOUTH, I had in my barns and stacks in Hampshire, the produce of rather more than seventy acres of wheat, raised in *single rows at four feet apart*; and that the produce was thirty-one loads of wheat, forty bushels to the load; that I left also fifty-two acres of transplanted Swedish turnips also in rows at four feet apart; and that, at this moment, my men have just sowed (I hope) twenty-five acres of wheat in the same manner. In short, I have no crop, and will have no crop, not cultivated in this manner.

Just before the Parliament was prorogued, a gentleman asked me what books on agriculture he ought to have. I told him to get TULL's HUSBANDRY, with my introduction, for that I myself knew nothing of the science of husbandry, until I read that book. He got it the next day; and, if he have read it carefully, though he was bred a lawyer, he is more fit for a farmer than any man that never read that book.

Now, Mr. Benett, how very weak it is to refrain from doing justice, in a case where it is so manifestly due. There was not a man that heard you that did not know that a knowledge of this system was ascribable to me. You could not deprive me of any part of the honour attending the introduction of this system; but you could deprive yourself of that praise for manliness and impartiality and magnanimity, which

the doing of me justice would have caused to be ascribed to you. All this, however, is a trifle, compared to the great importance of causing the system to be extended. Mr. SAUNDERS's account is most interesting, and, if Mr. SAUNDERS do not come to see me at my farm next year, I shall certainly go to see him at his farm, just before harvest.

Most sincerely wishing, that God will speed the plough in Wiltshire, and make the *ploughman* as well off and as contented as his grandfathers were,

I remain, Sir,
your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

DENMAN, E., Mark-lane, watchmaker.
FAIRBROTHER, G., and T. Williams, Birk-acre, near Chorley, Lancashire, calico-printers.
GREGORY, C., Luton, Bedfordshire, maltster.
HORD, H., Leeds, victualler.
KING, W. R. W., Hosier-lane, West Smithfield, wholesale tin-plate-worker.
RYLEY, J., Newcastle-under-Lyme, draper.
SMITH, J., Liverpool, wheelwright.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

MOORE, G., Sheffield, victualler.
SMITH, W., Belmont-terrace, Wandsworth-road, veterinary-surgeon.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

DOLLAR, W., Bucklersbury, Manchester-warehouseman.
SAUNDERS, J., Launceston, Cornwall, tallow-chandler.

BANKRUPTS.

HOGG, H. J., Portsea, Hampshire, auctioneer.
JONES, J. R., Tynemouth, ship-owner.
PEPPIN, T., Fenchurch-buildings, Fenchurch-street, wine-merchant.
PORTER, W. M., Great Winchester-street, merchant.
RIDDELL, T., and C. Buckle, Stratford, Essex, innkeepers.
WADE, T., sen., Silksworth, Durham, dealer and chapman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 21.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market were limited from Kent and Suffolk, but rather more liberal from Essex. The late damp weather has affected the samples, and many handled cold and rough. Selected parcels were taken off at the currency of this day week, but all secondary descriptions, as well as Irish, hang heavily on hand, though they might have been purchased on lower terms. Old Wheats met little attention. In bonded Corn nothing doing.

Barley was in good supply; fine selected parcels of Malting description realized in a few instances 1s. per qr. advance; and other qualities, as well as grinding and distillery, were taken off at Monday's rates.

Malt extremely dull, and prices nominal.

There was a liberal show of Oats, and though in retail the article obtained previous rates, yet to effect sales of any quantity a decline of 6d. per qr. was submitted to, as compared with this day week.

Beans were in better demand, and new qualities being scarce were worth rather more money.

Peas of all descriptions were dull.

Good samples of Flour obtained a steady sale at last week's prices.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat | 52s. to 62s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 36s. |
| Barley | 24s. to 27s. |
| — fine | 30s. to 35s. |
| Peas, White | —s. to —s. |
| — Boilers | 42s. to 45s. |
| — Grey | 33s. to 35s. |
| Beans, Small | —s. to —s. |
| — Tick | 30s. to 33s. |
| Oats, Potato | 25s. to 26s. |
| — Feed | 19s. to 23s. |
| Flour, per sack | 48s. to 50s. |

PROVISIONS.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Pork, India, new | 102s. to 106s. |
| — Mess, new ... | —s. to 56s. per barl. |
| Butter, Belfast | 84s. to 85s. per cwt. |
| — Carlow | 82s. to 87s. |
| — Cork | —s. to —s. |
| — Limerick .. | 79s. to —s. |
| — Waterford .. | 75s. to 78s. |
| — Dublin | 72s. to 74s. |

SMITHFIELD, October 21.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great, and of fair average quality; its supply of Sheep and Calves, good; of Porkers, limited. There were a few Lambs in the market, but as grass Lamb may be now considered as quite out of season, they produced only Mutton prices. Trade was, throughout, dull. With Beef at a depression of 2d., Veal, 2d. to

4d. per stone; with Mutton and Pork at Friday's quotations.

At least three-fourths of the Beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, Welsh (mostly North Wales) runts, and Irish beasts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Scots and Herefords, with, perhaps, 50 Town's-end Cows, as many Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c. About 2,300 of the short-horns, Devons, runts, Scots, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, and the rest of our northern grazing districts; about 200 of do. from our western and midland districts; about 150 of do. from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; and the remainder chiefly from Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and (with the Town's-end Cows) from the London marshes.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Oct. 23.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, and prices dull, and prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

| | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. |
|---------------|------|------|------|-------|------|--------|
| 3 per Cent. } | 86½ | 86½ | 87 | 86½ | 86½ | 86½ |
| Cons. Ann. } | | | | | | |

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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